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# ARCHAEOLOGISCHE MITTEILUNGEN AUS IRAN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM  
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUT  
ABTEILUNG TEHERAN

BAND 26  
1993

DIETRICH REIMER VERLAG BERLIN



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Dieser Band ist dem Gedenken an

EDITH PORADA

(1912–1993)

Emerita der Columbia University, New York  
Ordentliches Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Als Ehrung ihrer großen Verdienste  
um die Archäologie der Frühzeit Irans

gewidmet.

*Wolfram Kleiss*  
*Peter Calmeyer*



THE ANCIENT PERSIAN SATRAPIES AND SATRAPS  
IN WESTERN ANATOLIA

The question of the number and location of the ancient Persian satrapies within the Achaemenid Empire, c. 500–400 B.C., remains a vexing issue, in spite of recent attempts to address this problem<sup>1</sup>. The eastern satrapies are merely bare reflections within our ancient sources, while others, Egypt, Babylonia, Media, and Elam, are more secure. In western Anatolia, however, the ancient Greek records allow us to undertake a more positive investigation of the question, yet the number and nature of those satrapies also remains in doubt. During the early fifth century B.C., at the time of King Xerxes I's expedition against Greece, Anatolia embraced four satrapies: the semiautonomous Cilicia ruled by one retaining the ancient title-name Syennesis with his capital at Tarsus (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.23), Cappadocia with its capital at Gordion<sup>2</sup>, Sparda with its capital at Sardis (Hdt. 5.25.1), and the newly structured northwestern Daskyleion with a capital by the same name on the southern shore of Lake Manyas (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15–6)<sup>3</sup>. Until c.480 B.C., Daskyleion had been governed by the satrap of Sparda from his capital at Sardis, as had Thrace (Skudra), which rapidly disintegrated after 478 B.C. with the Greek liberation of much of that European region. Macedonia, like Cilicia, had also been a semiautonomous nation and not a formal satrapy, and left the Achaemenid Empire after Persia's military losses to the Greeks in 480 and 479 B.C.

In contrast, when we turn to Anatolia in the late fifth century, modern scholars note six satrapies: Cilicia, Cappadocia, Greater Phrygia, Lydia-Ionia, Caria, and Hellespontine Phrygia to which Aeolis belonged<sup>4</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not know when or why Sparda and Daskyleion became divided into this suspected configuration of six satrapies from the earlier four.

The problem, of course, rests in how we moderns interpret the ancient sources. As to when and why the divisions occurred, Ktesias (*FGrH* 688) in his *Persika* fails, in his inimical way, to note important governmental policies, especially beyond the central royal court.

Diodorus Siculus, probably following Ephorus (*FGrH* 70), in his detailed narrative of the assassination of Xerxes I in 465 B.C., the murder of the crown prince Darcios, and the assumption of power by King Artaxerxes I (11.69–71.1), offers an important statement about satrapal matters. The Diodorian passage often cited as „The Reorganization of the Persian Empire“ (11.71.1–2), when examined reveals something important about satrapies:

This year [465/2 B.C. {sic}] Artaxerxes, the King of the Persians, who had just recovered the throne, first of all punished those who had had a part in the murder of his father and then organized the affairs of the kingdom to suit his own personal advantage. Thus with respect to the satraps then in office, those who were hostile to him he dismissed and from his friends he chose such as were competent and gave the satrapies to them. He also concerned himself with both the revenues and the preparation of armaments, and since in general his administration of the entire kingdom was mild, he enjoyed the favor of the Persians to a high degree

(trans. Oldfather).

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York 1983) 77–90; Thierry Petit, *Satrapes et Satrapies dans l'empire achéménide de Cyrus le Grand à Xerxès I<sup>er</sup>* (Paris 1990). Ancient authors are quoted according to the abbreviations of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Rodney S. Young, *Progress at Gordion, 1911–1912*, *University Museum Bulletin* 17.4, Dec. 1913, 25–29, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ekrem Akurgal, *Les Fouilles de Daskyleion, Anatolia 1*, 1956, 20–24; Jack M. Balzer, *Persian Occupied Thrace (Skudra)*, *Historia* 37, 1988, 1–21.

<sup>4</sup> Charles D. Hamilton, *Sparta's Bitter Victories* (Ithaca 1979) 101; citing K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte III* (2nd ed. Strassburg 1912–27) 132.



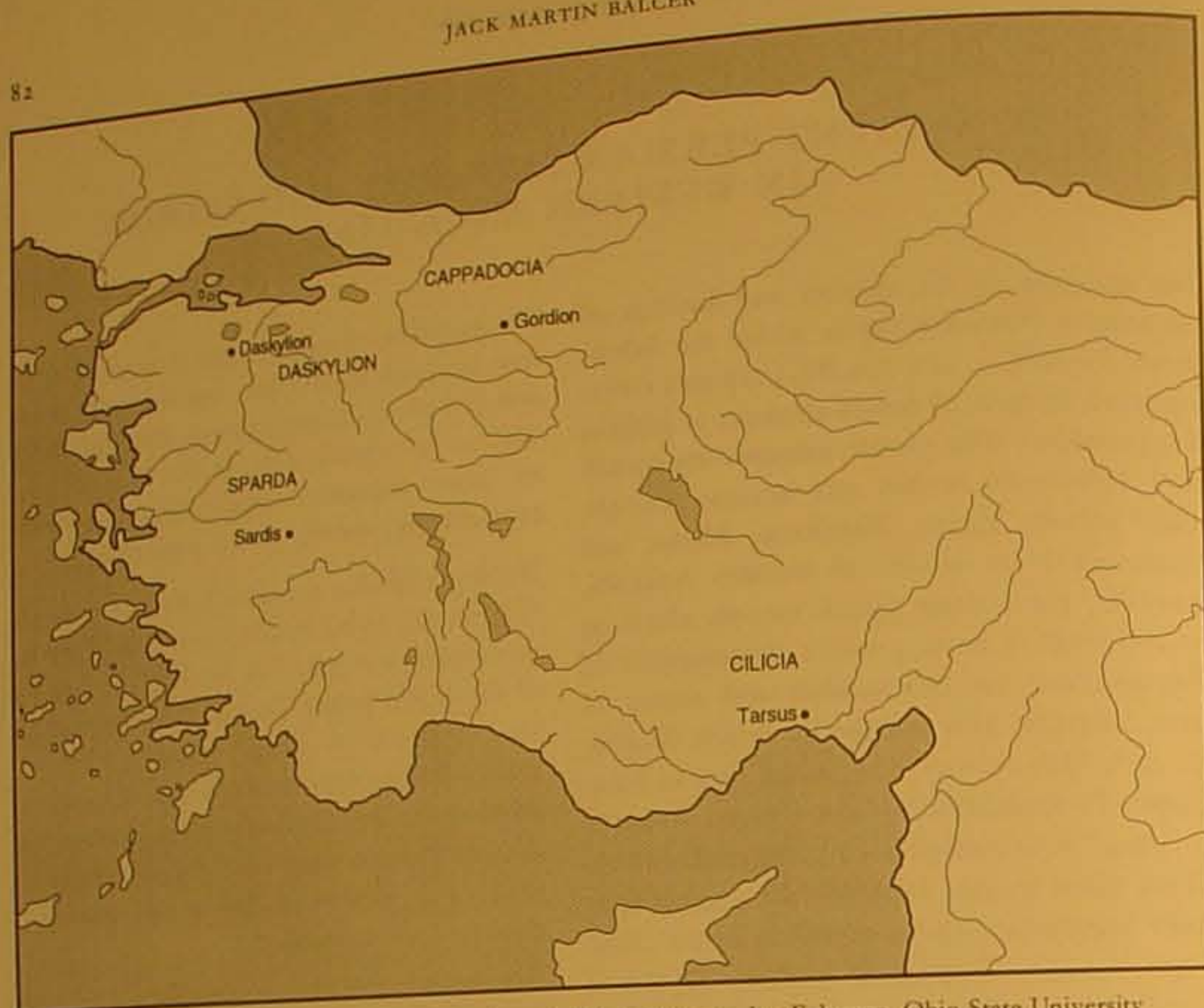


Abb. 1. Anatolia under the Persian Empire before 465 B.C. Zeichnung: Jon Fuhrman, Ohio State University

Diodorus notes that Artaxerxes I dismissed the satraps hostile to him and chose from his friends men who were competent to govern as satraps and were loyal to the Great King, and he positively links those dismissals and appointments with the collection of revenues (*prosôdôn*) and the development of military forces (*duñameôn*). We shall return to this passage shortly as it may illuminate several passages from other ancient authors.

The fragments of the Papyrus Oxyrhynchus XIII 1610, fr. 15-6, listed by Felix Jacoby under Ephoros of Kyme (*FGrH* 70 F 191), unfortunately, are all too sparse to clarify further Diodorus' account of the assassination of Xerxes I and Artaxerxes I's rise to power. Justin (3.1.1-9) discusses only the assassination plot; Aristotle briefly mentions that convoluted affair (*Pol.*

1311<sup>b</sup>34); and Eusebius' very brief entry (*Chronicorum Canonum* LXXVIII Olymp.) also adds no new information. Ktesias' references to those events (*FGrH* 688 F 13.32-14.1) also fail to add further information to the issue of „Reorganization“.

Diodorus Siculus' brief mention of the death of Artaxerxes I and the rapid successions of King Xerxes II, King Sogdianos (Sekydianos), and King Darius II in 425/4 B.C. (12.71.1); and the death of Darius II and the accession to the throne of King Artaxerxes II in 405 B.C. (13.108.1); do not bear further details and we do not know if those moments of change generated conditions for further reorganization.

Thucydides, also unfortunately, does not help us in solving this problem. In Book 1 of his *Histories* (1.15.4), he referred to Pisouthnes, the

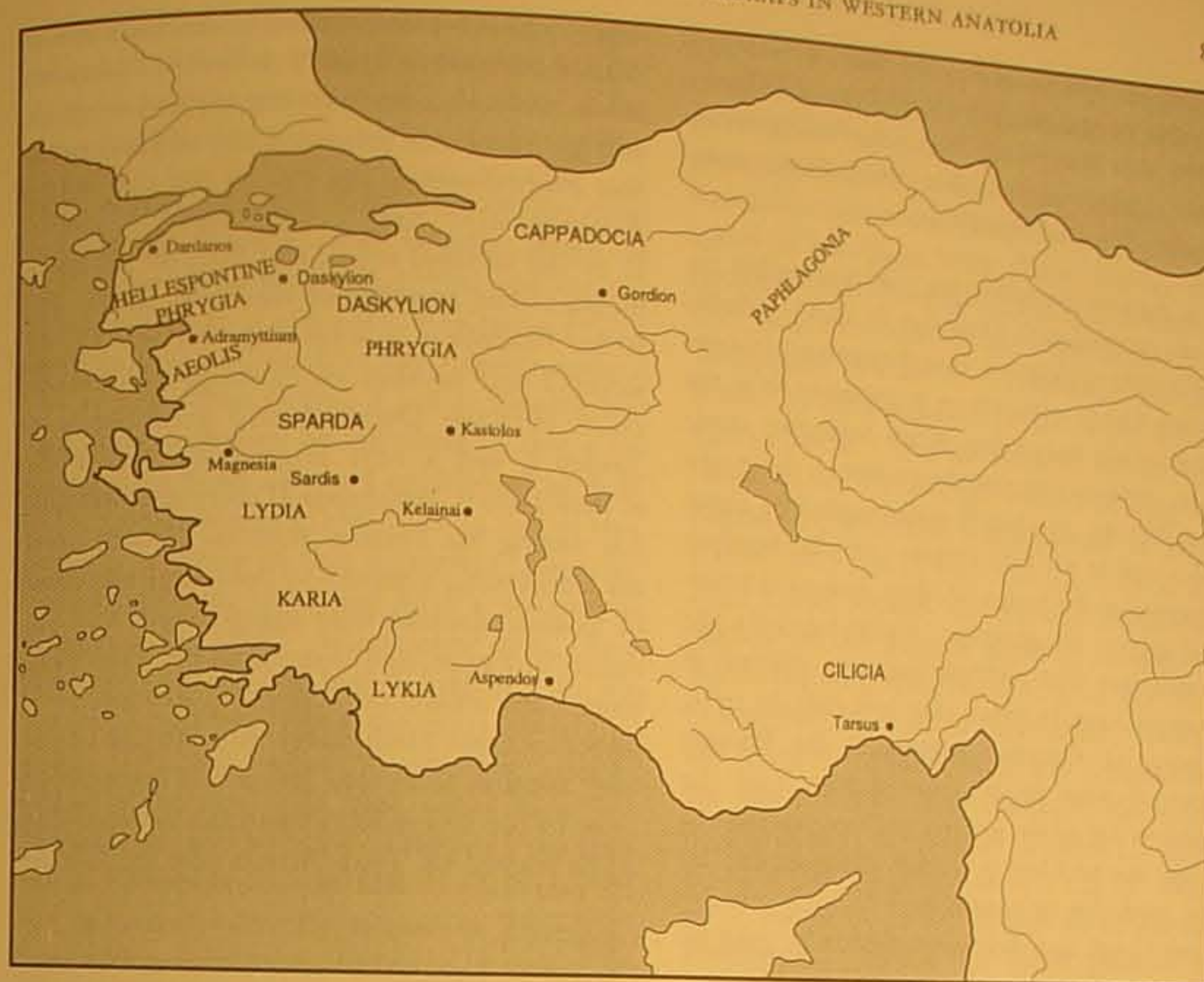


Abb. 2. Anatolia under the Persian Empire after 465 B.C. Zeichnung: Jon Fuhrman, Ohio State University

son of Hystaspes II, who held Sardis, thus as satrap as clearly noted by Diodorus Siculus (12.27.3). But in Book 8, neither Pharnabazos II, the son of Pharnakes II, nor Tissaphernes are given titles (except Tissaphernes whom he called „general [*stratêgôs*] of the men below“: 8.5.4)<sup>5</sup>. By careful reading, however, we note Pharnabazos II in the north near the Hellespont and Propontis, the region of Daskyleion (8.62.1), and Tissaphernes in the south in and about Ionia, the region of Sparda, with a base at Magnesia in Ionia, apparently Magnesia-on-the-Maeander (8.50.3). But Magnesia does not have to be his major governmental seat (8.50.2, 8.56.1) anymore than Magnesia had been the major governmental seat for the satrap of Sparda, Oroites, who also often resided there, c.525-2 B.C. (Hdt. 3.122.1), as he was the „governor“ (*huparchos*) at Sardis (Hdt. 3.120.1)<sup>6</sup>.

What will soon be evident is that our problem rests in the imprecise terminology given by the ancient Greek authors to the Persian offices and officers<sup>7</sup>. In the instance of Oroites, the Herodotean *huparchos* meaning governor also reflects the office of satrap as Sardis was the capital of Sparda. Yet, throughout Herodotus' references to *huparchoi* in Thrace, in each instance the word must be understood as governor of a specific city or fort, and there were often many *huparchoi* at one time, and in each case *huparchos* in a Thracian context cannot be considered a

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Gomme/A. Andrewes/K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides V* (Book VIII), (Oxford 1981) 13-6, state that it apparently means Tissaphernes held a superior command in the west against the Athenians, and not necessarily that Pharnabazos was his subordinate.

<sup>6</sup> Jack Martin Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun* (Stuttgart 1987) 146-8.

<sup>7</sup> Cook<sup>1</sup> 76.83.176.



satrap, as Thrace had never been a satrapy.<sup>8</sup> Neither do the pertinent fragments of Ephoros (*FGrH* 70 F 194-200, 203-9, esp. 208) provide assisting information; nor the eclectic statements offered by Polyainos.

It is then to Xenophon we turn and within his texts, coupled with Diodorus Siculus' probable reflections of Ephoros, that the problem of confusing Greek terminology is apparent as is the problematic suggestion of six Anatolian satrapies; and here may rest the answer to our problem. Yet the problem is compounded by those who read in the Old Persian imperial lapidary inscriptions the names of ethnic groups as political regions or satrapies<sup>9</sup>, which supports the assumption that multiple satrapies existed in western Anatolia rather than just two. In 1973, George G. Cameron noted that the Elamite texts of those imperial inscriptions bear the markers for ethnic groups and not satrapies<sup>10</sup>. Thus our problem is further compounded by the confusion of terminology in both our ancient Greek and Achaemenid texts as read by modern scholars.

The issue rests with our two Persian protagonists: Pharnabazos II and Tissaphernes. Pharnabazos II, a royal Achaemenian, was the fourth member of his illustrious family to be satrap of Daskyleion. Born c.445 B.C., he became satrap c.414 B.C. and took an active role in the last years of the Peloponnesian War when the Achaemenid Empire once again became embroiled in Greek affairs in western Anatolia. During those turbulent years, he came in conflict with Tissaphernes over personal power struggles (Thuc. 8.6.1-2, 8.8.1, 8.39.1-2, 8.62.1, 8.80.1-2, 8.99, 8.109.2). And, after great success, in 387 B.C. he married Apame, King Artaxerxes II's daughter (Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.28; Plut. *Arta.* 17.4)<sup>11</sup>.

Pharnabazos II's father Pharnakes II was satrap of Daskyleion at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2.67.1) and also came into conflict with Tissaphernes and Arsakes (Thuc. 5.1, 8.6.1, 8.108.4) concerning the Delians Phar-

nakes settled at Atramyttion in Anatolia whom Tissaphernes and Arsakes killed<sup>12</sup>. Pharnakes II was probably born between 475 and 465 B.C., and his father, the second satrap of Daskyleion was Pharnabazos I, the son of the first satrap Artabazos II<sup>13</sup>. Xerxes I appointed Artabazos II to the satrapal seat c.480 B.C. as he was a distinguished member of the royal family. His father Pharnakes I (Farnaka), the son of Arsames I and brother of Hystaspes I, was the uncle of King Darius I and great uncle of Xerxes I, and a very important royal officer at Persepolis<sup>14</sup>. Artabazos II distinguished himself during the Persian Wars in Greece, aided the Great King's return to Asia after the Battle of Salamis, decades later again fought the Athenians in Egypt, and assisted in the final peace treaty, the Peace of Kallias<sup>15</sup>. Pharnakes II, therefore, held Daskyleion through his important familial line that remained exceedingly close to the Great King; and his satrapal rule, while marred by Tissaphernes and the Greeks,

<sup>8</sup> Balcer 1-21.

<sup>9</sup> Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*—American Oriental Series XXXIII (2nd ed. New Haven 1953).

<sup>10</sup> The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters, *JNES* 32, 1973, 47-56.

<sup>11</sup> Thuc. 8.6.1-2; 8.8.1; 8.39.1-2; 8.62.1; 8.80.1-2; 8.99; 8.109.1; Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.31, 5.1.28; Plut. *Arta.* 27.4.

<sup>12</sup> Thuc. 2.67.1; 5.1; 8.6.1; 8.58.1; Ar. *Aves* 1028-30. Atramyttion, an old Lydian settlement, may have been on the northern border of Sparda yet near the satrapy of Daskyleion.

<sup>13</sup> Thuc. 2.67.1.

<sup>14</sup> Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago 1969) 314, 460, 654-69, 776, 787, 1032, 1145, 1235, 1259, 1272, 1290, 1293, 1295-6, 1308-11, 1331, 1340, 1346, 1360, 1370, 1374-5, 1381-2, 1386, 1390, 1396, 1432, 1446, 1450, 1461, 1470-1, 1478, 1480, 1492, 1494, 1498, 1509, 1511, 1513, 1523, 1535, 1544, 1549, 1552-3, 1560-1, 1575, 1577, 1780-2, 1787-1810, 1828, 1944, 1947, 1963, 2067-8, 2070, 6764; Hdt. 7.66.2; 8.126.1; 9.41.1; 9.66.1; 9.89.1; Thuc. 1.129.1; Polyain. 7.33.3.

<sup>15</sup> Hdt. 7.66.2; 8.126.1; 8.126.3; 8.128.1-2; 8.129.3; 9.41.1-2; 9.42.1; 9.58.3; 9.66.1-2; 9.70.5; 9.77.2; 9.89.1-2; Hellenikos of Lesbos *FGrH* 4 F 60; Thuc. 1.129.1; 1.129.3; 1.132.5; Diod. Sic. 11.31.3-32.1; 11.53.1; 11.44.4; 11.74.6-11.77.4; 12.3.2-3; 12.4.4-5; Plut. *Arist.* 19.4; Nepos 75.1; 11.77.4; 12.3.2-3; 12.4.4-5; Plut. *Arist.* 31.25; Paus. 2.5; Philostr. *VS* 375; Aeneas the Tactician 31.25; [Them.] *Epist.* 14.4; 8; 20.27; 38; Polyain. 7.33.1-3; Libanius *Epis.* 700.3; Themistios *Or.* 5.67b; Suda sv diexiphisio; Hermogenes *Peri ideon* 2.396; Stephen of Byzantium sv *Artaia*.

maintained a long tradition and strong governmental power. For Diodorus Siculus, he was satrap (*satrapēs*) and general (*stratagōs*) of the Great King<sup>16</sup>.

Tissaphernes was also a member of the royal Achaemenid house<sup>17</sup>, and became satrap of Sparda, including the cities (*póleis*) and regions (*ebōras*) of Lykia, c.416/5 B.C.<sup>18</sup> (Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 15.53); and his close ally Arsakes assisted him as hyparchos (Thuc. 8.108.4). Sparda had long been governed by members of that royal house, since King Darius I established his half-brother Artaphrenes I (Hdt. 5.25.1), son of Hystaspes I, as satrap of that important „flagship“ satrapy following the Great King's return from Europe, c.513 B.C. Artaphrenes' son, Artaphrenes II, succeeded him<sup>19</sup>, and in turn was succeeded by Pissouthnes, the royal son of Hystaspes II<sup>20</sup>. But when Pissouthnes rebelled against King Darius II, that Great King sent Tissaphernes and an army to suppress the revolution. Tissaphernes, the son of Hydarnes III, was apparently directly related to Darius I's close aide and fellow conspirator Hydarnes I<sup>21</sup>, the father of Hydarnes II who fought with Xerxes as leader of the „Immortals“ or more properly the „Followers“ against the Greeks<sup>22</sup>. Sometime later, Hydarnes II commanded „the coast men“ (Hdt. 7.135) probably in the Ionian section of Sparda<sup>23</sup>.

It was in character for Darius II to appoint a satrap for Sparda from a very distinguished family, to whom King Artaxerxes II gave his own daughter in marriage (Diod. Sic. 14.26.4). As Pharnabazos II was subordinate to the Achaemenid Prince Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.5) and to Tissaphernes (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.37), as both Cyrus and Tissaphernes held the command of „general-in-chief“ (*tēn hēgemonian ōn Kūros epī thalattēs ēreche satrapeiōn* Diod. Sic. 14.26.4, cf. 14.12.8, 14.19.2, 14.35.3; *stratēgōs tōn pāntōn* Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.13; cf. Diod. Sic. 14.26.4), Tissaphernes' rank was exceedingly high, possibly surpassing that of Pharnabazos II. His high rank is reflected in the three treaties designed by the Persians and the Spartans in

412 and 411 B.C., that clearly bear his name specifically included within the treaties' texts (Thuc. 8.18.1, 8.37.1, 8.58.1)<sup>24</sup>; and also in the growing desire by some of the Athenians to conclude a treaty with Tissaphernes as representative of the Great King (Thuc. 8.47.2). But for some time, Tissaphernes had been in conflict with both Pharnakes II and Pharnabazos II of Daskyleion. In addition, Tissaphernes was also bound to the chequered career of the Achaemenian prince, Cyrus the Younger, son of King Darius II and the younger brother of King Artaxerxes II, who also based himself in Sardis (Diod. Sic. 13.70.5; Plut. *Lys.* 4.1, 9.1). In 407 B.C., Cyrus became the supreme commander (archon) of the western Anatolian satrapies lying on the sea (Diod. Sic. 14.12.8, 14.19.2), thus in a military position that dominated Pharnabazos II, satrap of Daskyleion, and Tissaphernes, the Great King's satrap in Sparda. He ranked as „general of the forces“ (*stratēgōn ... pāntōn* [general of all] Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2, cf. *stratēgōs ... pāntōn* 1.9.7; and *kāranon tōn eis Kastōlōn atroizomēōn ... kāranon esti kūrion* [karanos of

<sup>16</sup> 13.37.4; 13.40.6; 13.63.2; 13.104.6; 14.11.1; 14.81.6.

<sup>17</sup> Lykian text of the Xanthos stele: Ernestus Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris. I. Tituli Lyciae* (Akademie der Wissenschaften Vienna 1901) text 44c 11-12, *cizzaprēna widnrah*, „Tissaphernes the son of Hydarnes“. Plutarch's note (*Lys.* 4.2) that Tissaphernes was a „base man“, *kakōs*, apparently refers to his character and not his birth.

<sup>18</sup> A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948) 358; David M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* (Leiden 1977) 80-1; Gomme et al.<sup>3</sup> 12-13; M. A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* (Leiden 1989) 219-260.

<sup>19</sup> Aesch. *Pers.* 21; Hdt. 6.94.2; 6.119.1; 7.8.3; 7.10.1; 7.74.2; Marmor Parium *FGrH* 239 A 48; Nepos *Milt.* 4; Justin 2.8; Plut. *Mor.* 829A; Paus. 1.32.7; Dion Halik. *Dem.* 41; Philostr. *VA* 1.214; Dio Chrys. 11.148; Suda s. v. Artapheres, Datis, Hippas; that incorrectly gives Intaphernes; Georgios Synkellos 468 (Saphernes).

<sup>20</sup> Thuc. 1.113.4; 5.11.12; 5.34.2; 8.5.5; 8.28.3; Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 15.53; Diod. Sic. 12.27.1; Plut. *Per.* 23.3-4.

<sup>21</sup> Kent<sup>9</sup> DB col. 2.19, 21; col. 4.84; Hdt. 5.70.2; 7.66.1; called Idernes by Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 13.14; Strabo 9.14.5; 11.14.15.

<sup>22</sup> Hdt. 6.133.1 (2); 7.83.1; 7.135.1; 7.135.3; 7.136.1; 7.211.1; 7.215; 7.218.2-3; 8.11.2; 8.118.1; Plut. *Mor.* 236A (Indarnes); Paus. 3.4.8; 10.22.8.

<sup>23</sup> Lewis<sup>18</sup> 83-4.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 104; besides Tissaphernes, the sons of Pharnakes, presumably a reference to Pharnabazos, and Hieramenes, probably King Darius II's son-in-law (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.8-9).



those whose mastering-place is Kastolos... karanos is *karios* {master}; *Hell.* 1.4.4) and satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia (*satrapēs Lydiās te kai Phrygiās tēs megālēs kai Kap-padokiās*; Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.7). Yet, earlier, in 412 B.C., Pharnabazos II (as Diodorus confused Pharnabazos with Tissaphernes in Bk. 13, this statement probably refers to the latter) had the military command of the regions bordering on the sea (Diod. Sic. 13.36.5). Cyrus the Younger's titles, at first, seem to conflict with the titles and roles of Pharnabazos II and Tissaphernes; but shortly we may be able to resolve that problem.

Xenophon reports that following Cyrus the Younger's death at the Battle of Cunaxa, 401 B.C., King Artaxerxes II sent Tissaphernes to Sardis again as satrap of his previous holdings and what Cyrus had held; and Tissaphernes demanded also all of the Ionian city-states (*Hell.* 3.1.3).

Yet, Diodorus (14.35.2-3) notes that in 400 B.C., Artaxerxes

dispatched Tissaphernes to take over all the satrapies that bordered on the sea. Consequently, the satraps and city-states that had allied themselves with Cyrus were in great suspense, lest they should be punished for their offences against the King. Now all the other satraps, sending ambassadors to Tissaphernes, paid court to him; but Tamos, the most powerful of them, who commanded Ionia [fled to Egypt].

(trans. Oldfather)

This passage closely contains the problem at hand. Clearly, Tissaphernes did not rank above Pharnabazos II until his second appointment as satrap of Sparda after King Artaxerxes II's victory at Cunaxa. Then, what were "all the satrapies that bordered on the sea" and who were "all the other satraps" including Tamos? Tamos was neither Achaemenian nor Persian but Cyrus' trusted friend from Memphis Egypt (Diod. Sic. 14.19.6)<sup>25</sup>, and non-Achaemenians and non-Persians had never been raised to a satrapal throne, not even Medes, although they often served as generals. In this passage, Diodorus notes Cyrus had appointed related Per-

sians as *epimelētai* (governors) over Lydia and Phrygia, and Tamos over Ionia and Aeolis. Indeed, Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sparda (Lydia), and Pharnabazos, satrap of Daskyleion (Phrygia), were Achaemenians and, therefore, directly related to Cyrus; but Tamos was clearly not related. What then did he control? The key rests in the term *epimelētai* which, like *buparchoi*, was used interchangeably for satraps and other subordinate officers. Four years later, Diodorus noted, Artaxerxes II sent to the city-states and the satraps seven letters, one going to the satrap Ariaaios (14.80.7). Again we must ask who were these satraps, and if they were truly satraps or was the word being used for loyal *epimelētai* and *buparchoi*, often either locals or appointed foreigners such as Tamos to supervise small regions of the traditional larger satrapies? This apparently casual use of several titles, including satrap, for a local supervisor is clearly borne out in three telling passages from Xenophon's *Hellenica*.

The first deals with Aeolis "within the territory of Pharnabazos" II (3.1.10), first "supervised by Tamos", and then by Zenis of Dardanos "who acted as satrap of this territory" (*chōra*). But when Zenis died in 399 B.C., Pharnabazos II was "preparing to give the satrapy to another man" (3.1.10). In turn, Mania, Zenis' Dardanian widow, traveled to Pharnabazos II's court to give him great gifts (*dōra*), the normal activity of a subordinate to one of higher rank. There Mania told Pharnabazos II of Zenis' friendship, that he had paid the required tribute (*phōros*), and that she wished to be satrap (*satrapēn*); a request that Pharnabazos II granted. Mania, consequently, became the Mistress (*kuria*) of the territory (*chōra*), and she was "one of his governors of all" (*pántōn tōn buparchōn*; 3.1.11). Here, a single "supervisor" has been called a satrap, a hyparchos, and a kyria, not over a satrapy but a territory, the chora. In addition, she was an East Greek and female, whereas no woman or East Greek had ever been a satrap. Similarly,

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 92-3.

Stages was Tissaphernes' hyparchos (Thuc. 8.16.3), as was Tamos the Egyptian hyparchos of Ionia under Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8.31.2) who was to raise money for the military (Thuc. 8.87.1); and in 413-2 B.C., Amorges, the bastard son of Pissouthnes, was in arrears in paying his tribute for his region (*toūs ek tēs beautoū archēs phōrous*; Thuc. 8.5.5), and that region, arche, was subordinate to the satrap. It is clear that Tissaphernes had requested his subordinates raise money for the military activities (Thuc. 8.99). In addition, Tissaphernes' close ally Ar-sakes was that satrap's hyparchos (Thuc. 8.108.4).

Thus, we may return to our major question and propose that there were only two coastal satrapies in Western Anatolia, Sardis and Daskyleion, and that each satrapy was divided into regions, chorai and/or archai, and local men and women, and foreigners could and did become the local "supervisor", who was labeled by our ancient Greek sources as epimeletes, hyparchos, kyrios, kyria, or even satrap. For example, when Diodorus Siculus referred to the satrap of Paphlagonia (14.11.3) he apparently was noting the local region and its supervisor, and not a regular satrapy and its satrap.

By studying these local supervisors and their territories we have considered the traditional satrapy of Sparda divided into Lydia-Ionia and Karia, and Daskyleion into Greater Phrygia and Hellespontine Phrygia, to which Aeolis belonged. But Aeolis was clearly part of Pharnabazos II's Greater Phrygia and not a separate satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. Thus, we return to our traditional four satrapies of Anatolia during the late fifth century B.C. as Cilicia, Cappadocia, Daskyleion, and Sparda; and consider that all were subdivided into units governed by a native or someone else, and that the purpose of that division was to facilitate the collection of tribute and the raising of local military contingents. Pharnabazos II, a royal Achaemenid directly connected with the royal court, governed Daskyleion as satrap; and Tissaphernes, also a royal Achaemenid, governed Sparda. Al-

though, from time to time, their control over the coastal cities along the Aegean, Hellespont, and Propontis was limited by Spartan and Athenian military intervention. They were also occasionally in and out of favor with their respective Great Kings, as they were also with the Spartans and Athenians whom they played off one against the other. As a rule, Achaemenians rather than noble Persians governed the key satrapies. Of importance to this argument is Diodorus Siculus' reference to Cyrus the Younger's campaign against his older brother, King Artaxerxes II (14.20.1), in which he crossed Lydia, Phrygia, the regions bordering Cappadocia, and then arrived on the border of Cilicia. As Lydia was Sparda, and Phrygia Daskyleion, Diodorus notes clearly the four traditional Anatolian satrapies.

Taking this line of argument one step further, we must return to the titles Xenophon noted for Cyrus the Younger as "karanos or master of all" (*Hell.* 1.4.4), "general of all" (*Anab.* 1.1.2, 1.9.7), and "satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia" (*Anab.* 1.9.7). While Cyrus often resided in Sardis (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.3-5), he was also centered at Kelainai in Phrygia (Daskyleion) in a palace with a paradise park built by King Xerxes I (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.7-8); yet at Kastolos, in Sparda east of Sardis, Cyrus governed at that military center as karanos, a Hellenized Old Persian word built upon *kāra*-meaning the "army", thus military commander<sup>26</sup>. As Tissaphernes also held the title "general of all" (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.13; cf. Diod. Sic. 14.26.4), and Thucydides noted him as "general of the men below" (8.5.4), we must conclude that the ancient Greek historians believed this an important title, and that while satraps were the "generals of all men" within their satrapies, Cyrus the Younger apparently held the title as military supervisor over the several satrapies he was appointed to oversee. Thus, while Pharnabazos II remained satrap in Daskyleion (Greater

<sup>26</sup> David Testen, *καράνος*=*κύριος*, *Glotta: Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* 69, 1991, 175-4.



Phrygia: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.1, 3.4.26<sup>27</sup> and Tissaphernes was satrap in Sparda (Lydia), and someone whose name remains unknown governed Cappadocia. Cyrus the Younger who was military supervisor over those three satrapies was also the political overseer of the same three governmental units, and that his major political seat was in Sardis, the logical choice for a royal Achaemenian Prince to be established<sup>28</sup>. Such a location would enable Tissaphernes, therefore, to become embroiled with that rebellious younger brother of King Artaxerxes II.

If this analysis holds, then we have an example of a new type of political-military structure in western Anatolia. In cities and forts, local officials as hyparchoi governed. Then in regions, archai or chorai (and possibly *nomoi* as discussed below), local or foreign officials governed as "satraps", hyparchoi, or kyriai; and several of those regions formed the larger traditional satrapy governed by the satrap, in Daskyleion and Sparda by royal Achaemenians. In the case of the royal Achaemenian prince, Cyrus the Younger, therefore, he was supervisory general for the Great King over the satrapies of Sparda, Daskyleion, and Cappadocia, as well as karanos or military master, thus, general political overseer as special viceroy for those three western satrapies, similar to what Cambyses' younger brother, Bardiya called Tanuoxsarkes, was given to command in the eastern regions of Bactria, Chorasmia, Parthia, and Karmania (Ktesias *FGH* 688 F 9.8). Xenophon, therefore, could easily note that King Darius II summoned Cyrus the Younger from his territory (*apò tēs archēs*) in which he was satrap (*satrapēs*) and stratagos of all on the plain of Kastolos (*Anab.* 1.1.2) and understand that it did not nullify the traditional satrapal rules of Pharnabazos II and Tissaphernes.

When and why the satrapies were divided into subregions by locals and others, however, still elude us, except to note that sometime between c.480 and 414 B.C. such political action had taken place. Yet, it is possible that we can, at least, consider the juncture of several ancient

texts and their possible solution to the problem. In the above mentioned passage from Diodorus Siculus (11.71.1-2), we noted Artaxerxes I's concern for loyalty among his satraps, the normal flow of revenues from those satraps to the royal coffers, and the structure of his army. While it alone does not suggest at that time, c.465 B.C., satrapies were divided into subunits, when coupled with Xenophon's report of Mania's address to Pharnabazos II (*Hell.* 3.1.10) we note her statement that her husband had paid the required tribute. This may further suggest that the division of satrapies, at least in western Anatolia, came about as a means to facilitate the collection and submission of the tribute to the satrapies and the Great King. And the payment of tribute was inevitably connected to the raising of military forces from the local region<sup>29</sup>.

Taking this line of argument one step further, we turn to Herodotus (3.89.1) and a passage he attributed to the early reign of King Darius I, c.522 B.C. Herodotus states:

Having so done in Persia, he [Darius] divided his dominions into twenty governments (*archai*), called by the Persians satrapies (*satrapēias*); and doing so and appointing governors (*archontas*), he ordained that each several nation should pay him tribute (*phorai*); to this end he united each nation with its closest neighbors, and, beyond these nearest lands, assigned those that were farther off some to one and some to another nation. I will now show how he divided his governments and the tributes which were paid him yearly.

(trans. Godley)

What Herodotus then sets out, however, is not a list of satrapies but a list of tribute paying units, *nomoi* (*nomoi*)<sup>30</sup>. Scholars have long

<sup>27</sup> Cook<sup>1</sup> 172f.

<sup>28</sup> This observation runs counter to that of Lewis<sup>18</sup> 119 n. 78, that Cyrus held Sparda as satrap and Tissaphernes was relegated to a lesser command over only Karia. Lewis' stance has been adopted by Donald Kagan, *The Fall of the Athenian Empire* (Ithaca 1987) 294 f. 379.

<sup>29</sup> Jack Martin Balger, *Ionia and Sparda under the Achaemenid Empire, The 6th and 5th Centuries B.C.: Tribute, Taxation, and Assessment*, in: Pierre Briant/Clarisse Herrenschildt (eds.), *Le Tribut dans l'empire perse* (Paris 1989) 1-27.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 3-6.

struggled to understand the list of *nomoi* noting it is a geographical document grouping tribes for the purposes of taxation. As they are, each of the twenty financial lists crossover the traditional boundaries for satrapies, their governmental units, and contain references to satrapies clearly developed not during Darius I's first several years as Great King but years and decades later<sup>31</sup>. The document also appears to have originated in the western region of the empire, perhaps in Ionia or Sardis, as it progresses from west to east, while the royal Achaemenid inscriptions from the central core of the empire are structured first in straight thrusts from the center into the four directions (NE, SE, SW, NW) and then, finally in a clockwise pattern starting from Parsa<sup>32</sup>.

Albert T. Olmstead suggested that the passage, while reflecting an important document, did not belong to the reign of Darius I but to that of Artaxerxes I<sup>33</sup>. This suggestion may have merit. If Daskyleion had not formally separated from Sparda until c.480 B.C., then the first three *nomoi* (Hdt. 3.90.1-2) have little reference to political conditions in western Anatolia in 522 B.C., as they cross and crisscross Sparda, Daskyleion, and Cappadocia without structure. Cilicia alone (Hdt. 3.90.3) remains a discrete unit, as we would expect. But if Olmstead's observation can be considered then it could link Herodotus 3.89-90 to the statements of Diodorus Siculus 11.71.1-2, "The Reorganization of the Persian Empire", c.465 B.C. or shortly thereafter, and to the notices of Xenophon concerning Mania and her late husband Zenis (*Hell.* 3.1.10-11). Thus, it is possible to consider the subdivisions of the western Anatolian satrapies into subunits, called *nomoi*, archai, or chorai as part of Artaxerxes I's initial political and financial actions when he replaced unfriendly satraps. Herodotus, too, had confused royal Achaemenid terminology as had Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus.

The correlation of Herodotus' lists of fiscal units in western Anatolia with the subdivisions of the satrapies in the same regions, however,

does not correlate well. Herodotus offers lists of ethnic groups, tribal organizations, whereas Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus have noted regions and residences, thus two distinctly different forms of notation. Yet, when we analyze the three Herodotean *nomoi* lists for this broad area the familiar names are apparent as underlined: the first *nomos* (3.90.1) - *Ionians*, *Magnesians*, *Aeolians*, *Karians*, *Lykians*, *Milyans*, and *Pamphylians*; the second *nomos* (3.90.2) - *Myrians*, *Lydians*, *Lasionians*, *Kabalians*, and *Hytenians*; and the third *nomos* (3.90.3) - *Phrygians*, *Thracians of Asia*, *Paphlagonians*, *Mariandynians*, and *Syrians*. And the Magnesians of the first *nomos* clearly remind us of Oroites' and Tissaphernes' residence in their midst. Lykia, basically governed by the Median house of Harpagus since the mid-sixth century B.C., apparently lay within the satrapy of Sparda (Hdt. 3.90.1), yet its relation to the satrapal seat at Sardis may have been of independence<sup>34</sup>.

Consequently, when Plutarch (*Them.* 30.1) notes that Epixsyas, whom he referred to as a Persian man "being the satrap of Upper Phrygia", had made an attempt upon Themistokles' life we note a date after 465 B.C. and that the Persian Epixsyas was governor not satrap of Phrygia. In addition, within Plutarch's mention (*Lys.* 24.1) that the Persian Spithradates at the Hellespont revolted against Pharnabazos, we may suspect that he was the local governor of that region. Thus, in addition to locals and foreigners, Persians also governed satrapal subdivisions.

<sup>31</sup> A. D. Godley (trans. and ed.), *Herodotus II* (Loeb edition; Cambridge, Mass. 1963) xvii; J. L. Myers, *Herodotus* (Chicago 1971) 160; M. A. Dandamaev, *Politische und wirtschaftliche Geschichte*, in: G. Walser (ed.), *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte* (Wiesbaden 1972) 43-44; Cook<sup>1</sup> 77-83.

<sup>32</sup> Peter Calmeyer, *Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive. VIII. Die "statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches"* - I, *AMI* 11, 1982, 103-187; *Zur Genese Altiranischer Motive. VIII. Die "statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches"* - II, *AMI* 16, 1983, 141-222.

<sup>33</sup> Olmstead<sup>18</sup> 291-299; Cook<sup>1</sup> 77-83, suggested a date after the early 470's.

<sup>34</sup> William Childs, *Lycian Relation with Persians and Greeks in the 5th and 4th Century Reexamined*, *Anatolian Studies* 31, 1981, 31-80.



Further investigation of our ancient Greek sources illuminates these issues. In his biography of Agesilaos (1.15) and in his *Hellenica* (3.1.12), Xenophon noted that Tissaphernes' residence, actually house or home (*oikos*; cf. Thuc. 8.36.1 *tin*), was in Karia, yet that residence may not indicate a satrapal center or the existence of a Karian satrapy, any more than the references to Magnesia (Thuc. 8.50.2, 8.56.1) support the location of a Persian satrapy at that city. During the second quarter of the fifth century B.C., the Athenian Themistokles held Magnesia as a gift from Xerxes (Thuc. 1.138.5; Diod. Sic. 11.57.7; Plut. *Them.* 29.11), and Magnesia was clearly not a satrapal center. Just as the Great King and his retinue traveled about from one capital to another and throughout the empire in a great tent complex, similar to that brought to Greece by Xerxes I, so, too, satraps moved from one domicile to another.

In the case of Tissaphernes, from his residence in Karia he traveled to Magnesia and to Sardis in 411 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.9) and then to Aspendos in southern Pamphylia (Thuc. 8.87.1), which Herodotus assigned to Sparda (3.90.1). Tissaphernes often resided in Sardis (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.25), sometimes with Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2-3), and there, in 395 B.C., he was murdered by Tithraustes, the Great King's emissary and chiliarch (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.25; Diod. Sic. 14.80.8). Yet, satraps could and did visit other satrapal centers, as did Pharnabazos II who spent the winter of 407 B.C. in Gordion (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.1), which Xenophon labeled as in Phrygia whereas earlier Gordion was clearly the satrapal center of Cappadocia. Here we have an example of a change in name and in name only, the substitution by Xenophon of the official Cappadocia for the less official and perhaps common name Phrygia. It does not suggest a new satrapy of Phrygia carved

from the older Cappadocia. Nor does Pharnabazos II's trip to Gordion suggest a political conflict but the visit of one satrap with another, yet perhaps with definite political intent as the Greeks were harassing the Hellespontine coast. Again, the misuse of titles, as we have noted for "supervisors", has confused our understanding of Achaemenian political and military control in Western Anatolia. In a similar vein, in 411 B.C., Tissaphernes traveled to the Hellespont where he captured the Athenian Alcibiades and imprisoned him in Sardis (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.9-10, 1.19.24-5; Plut. *Alc.* 27), and that trip apparently did not bother Pharnabazos II<sup>35</sup>. Yet, in 405 B.C., while Tissaphernes was in Media with Cyrus the Younger to attend the ailing King Darius II, Pharnabazos boldly settled fugitive Milesians at Blaouda, a fortress in Lydia (Diod. Sic. 13.104.6; Strabo 12.587)<sup>36</sup>. Earlier, Pharnabazos may have entered Sparda to settle the Delians at Atramyttion, whom Tissaphernes then murdered, probably because they were in his satrapy.

If this argument for only four satrapies in western Anatolia during the fifth century B.C. holds, then we may further consider that c.465 B.C. not only were those satrapies divided into nomoi for fiscal and military reasons but that the entire Herodotean list of Achaemenian nomoi (3.89-95) refers to similar divisions of all the other satrapies throughout the empire. As Herodotus clearly noted (3.97.1): "these were the several governments (*archai*) and taxation of tribute (*phorôn epitaxies*)". King Artaxerxes I's "Reorganization of the Persian Empire", therefore, appears to have brought about important political changes throughout the Achaemenid Empire.

<sup>35</sup> Gomme et al. 358.

<sup>36</sup> Kagan 383 and n. 22.

Jack Martin Balger  
The Ohio State University  
Columbus, Ohio 43210  
USA

## FLÄCHENSTEINBRÜCHE UND EINZELSTEIN DER UMGEBUNG VON PERSEPOLIS UND NAQSH

(Taf. 14-15)

In der Umgebung von Persepolis (Abb. 1) sind zahlreiche Spuren von Steinbruchtätigkeit an der Westflanke des Kuh-i Rahmat sichtbar, meist als einzelne, punktuelle Steinbrüche, aber auch als großflächige Abbaugelände. Die Gesteinsstruktur des Kuh-i Rahmat im Bereich von Persepolis fällt in starken Felsplatten schräg nach Westen ab, und große Blöcke lösten sich vom Felsverband. Vielfach sind sie dann ins Tal gerutscht. Als die Achaemeniden mit dem Bau von Persepolis begannen, haben sie sowohl solche am Hang liegenden Blöcke bearbeitet als auch versucht, etwa an der Nordwestecke der Terrasse, anstehenden Fels großflächig abzuar-

beiten, so wie sie ja große Flächen der dem auslaufenden Felsen des Kuh-i Rahmat zum Bau der Paläste abgerungen haben.

Auch in und nahe Naqsh-e Rostam wurden Bausteine sowohl aus großflächigen Steinbrüchen als auch aus Einzelblöcken gewonnen und verbaut; es ist wohl nicht anzunehmen, daß Steine von diesen Abbaubereichen um Naqsh-e Rostam nach Persepolis transportiert wurden.

Beiderseits eines natürlichen Einbruchs am westlichen Ausläufer des Hussein Kuh, in der Nähe der beiden „Felsaltäre“ und der runden „Feuerlöcher“ (Abb. 1), wurde ein Steinbruchbetrieb eingerichtet, der in seinem Aufbau achaemenidischen Flächensteinbrüchen – wie dem an der Nordwestecke der Terrasse von Persepolis<sup>1</sup> und dem Steinbruch von Madjabad, westlich von Marvdasht<sup>2</sup> – entspricht. Die Stellen des Felshanges, an denen gesunder Stein anstand, der auch auf kurzen Wegen abtransportiert werden konnte, sind (Abb. 2) in mehr oder minder rechteckigem Schema durch ausgehackte Werkgänge aufgeteilt. Diese Werkgänge umziehen die abzusprengenden Blöcke, die dann am Boden der Werkgänge durch schräg angesetzte Reihen von Keilen aus dem Felsverband gelöst wurden. Bei dem Flächensteinbruch in Naqsh-e Rostam (Abb. 2) sind drei voneinander isolierte Arbeitsplätze zu erkennen, die wahrscheinlich von einzelnen Steinmetzgruppen bearbeitet wurden.

Im Gegensatz zu den Flächensteinbrüchen stehen die Einzelsteinbrüche. Hier wurden große, aus den Felswänden des Hussein Kuh – vornehmlich zwischen Naqsh-e Rostam und Hadjia-

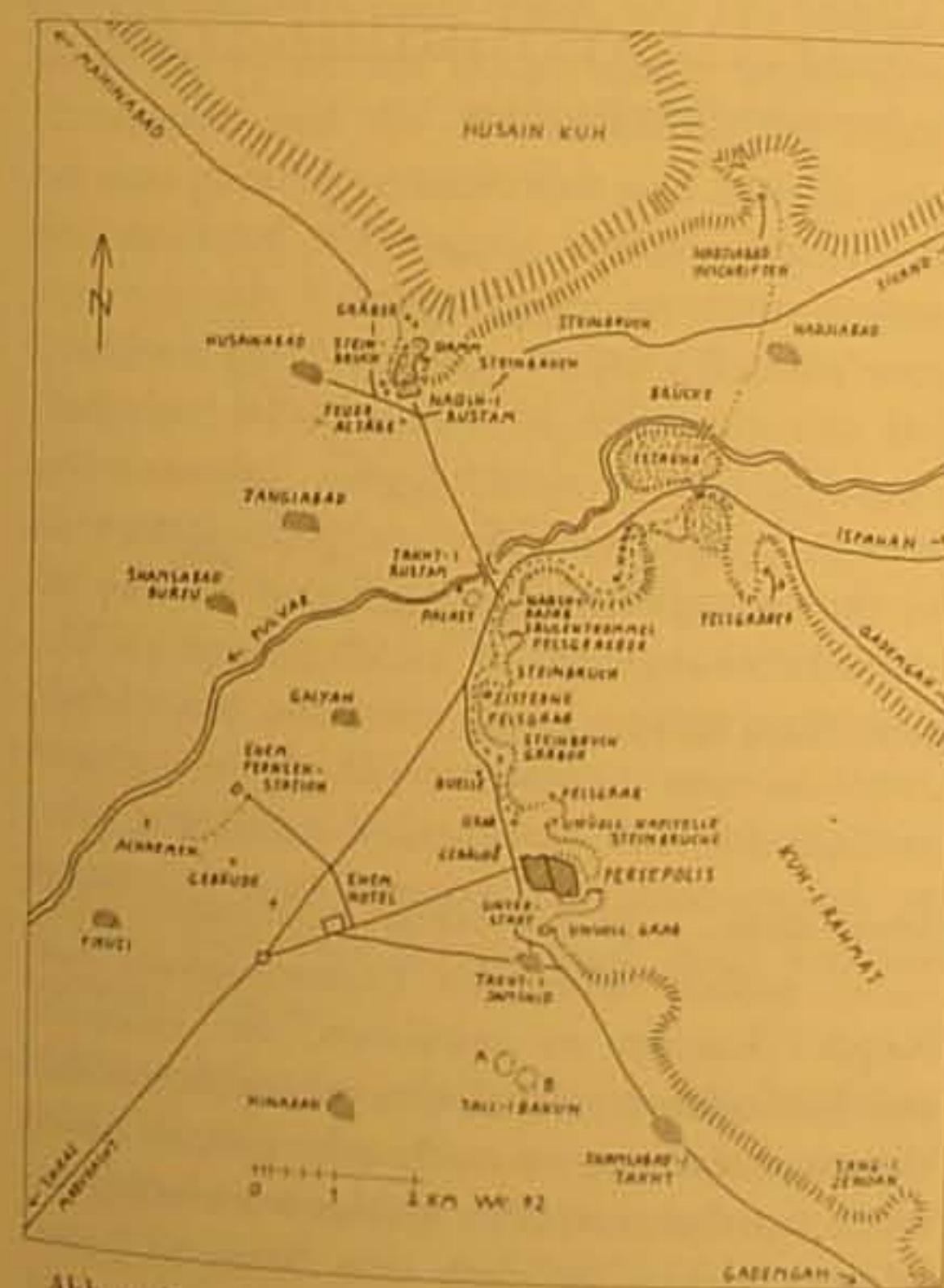


Abb. 1. Umgebung von Persepolis und Naqsh-e Rostam

<sup>1</sup> AMI 25, 1992, 155 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ist. Mitt. 43, 1993, 337 f.